SPFACH OF HON. JOHN BELL, OF TENNESSEE.

ON THE SUBJECT OF NON-INTERVENTION.

courtesy usually extended to Senators under such umstances; and, moreover, to exercise the common privilege of Senaters to express their views freely on any question which they may deem of sufficient importance, and which may appear to be pertinent to the duties and

the abatement of the excitement which existed in the country previously to the introduction of the resolutions by the honorable Senator from Rhode Island. Still, I am by the honorable Senator from Rhode Island. Still, I am of opinion that the subject has lost none of its intrinsic importance by the lapse of time or by the consideration it has already received; nor, in my judgment, has it yet been discussed in all its more interesting connexions and bearings; and it is for the purpose chiefly of expressing my views upon several aspects of the general question, which other gentlemen do not appear to have thought of sufficient interest to present, that I have risen to-day.

I wish it to be understood in the outset that I do not

sticing particularly the arguments of gentlemen who preceded me. I am aware that it might perhaps be sted of me to take some notice of the strictures of conorable Senator from Louisiana, not now present, (Mr. Soule,) upon the course of the Administration in relation to the Cuban invasion, the officious intermeddling stances under which the Spanish Consul returned to New Orleans. Sir, while I doubt not that the policy and prowith all the circumstances of these transactions than I am, and to whom it may be both more convenient and agreeable—the task of elucidating those circumstances and of deducing from them the just vindication of the Executive.

ment which I think important for this country to declare in connexion with the Hungarian question, nevertheless, I mean to say that I do not lay the same stress that others have done upon the question whether the resolutions shall pass in the shape in which they now stand, or whether they shall be so amended as to declare in fitting and pro-per terms the sentiment of the country upon the practical question of intervention in the case presented between Russia and Hungary? In my view of the subject, if Con-Russia and Hungary? In my view of the subject, if Congress, entertaining the opinion that any important principle of international law has been violated by the intervention of Russia in the affairs of Hungary, should deem it expedient to express the concern with which the people of this country had witnessed that intervention, and even to protest and remonstrate against any future and similar violation of the law of nations, in temperate yet firm language, I do not consider that such a proceeding ought or would disturb the amicable relations existing between the two countries. I hold that such a proceeding on the part of the United States would be no just cause of offence to any foreign Power, nor any violation of national courtesy. Indeed, sir, there may be some danger that, in our caution to avoid one extreme, we may fall into the opposite one; for, while I agree that neither sound policy, nor a just regard for our own character and dignity, nor a due tion to avoid one extreme, we may fall into the opposite one; for, while I agree that neither sound policy, nor a just regard for our own character and dignity, nor a due respect for any foreign nations with whom we have amicable relations and seek to maintain a mutually profitable commercial intercourse, do not warrant or justify the employment of the language of invective, of menace, or bravado, in protesting or remenstrating against any actual or supposed aggression upon the rights of any other nation or people, yet there is a wide difference between such forbearance in language—between a firm yet temperate expression of our opinions and sentiments, and the tameness and submissive acquiescence which might be implied from absolute silence, when we conceive that there has been a violation of any great conservative principle of that system of international law, the boast of modern civilization, which has, by common consent, been adopted to secure the equal and independent rights of the weaker and smaller States as well as of the stronger and more powerful among the family of nations.

I have thrown out these suggestions rather to assert the right of any one nation to take exception, by protest or remonstrance, to the acts or conduct of any other power conceived to be an infraction of the law of nations, without being necessarily committed to any other or foreible intervention to compel its observance, than with any view to the exercise of the right on the present occasion. For myself, I am quite content with the resolutions as they were presented by the Senator from Rhode Island. If it were important, or proper, or expedient to add to the resolutions, as originally presented, by declaring our sympathy with the fortunes of Hungary, or to protest against any future intervention by Russia in the affairs of that gallant people, I am not prepared to say that either the amendment offered by the Senator from New York, (Mr. Szware,) is in a form which could receive my assent. The language of the amendment offered by th

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No accounts be mg kept for this paper, it will not be ferwarded to any (methods and produces and produces of the consequences of the policy of intervention or non-intervention or patients; it is the question as to what is to be the fact in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the affairs or one-intervention by the United States in the aff

to be one of the highest importance to the future condition and fortunes of this country.

I have said that the great American question of the day is, how are we to be affected by the present and prospective condition of European ideas, interests, and affairs?

What, then, is the condition and attitude of Europe at present in relation to the great principles and questions connected with the organic forms of Government? Sir, I propose briefly to sketch the recent changes and what I consider to be the present condition of Europe in these

confidence in the established order of things had reigned in Europe for a long period, when the sudden and unexpected overthrow of Louis Philippe, followed in rapid succession by popular and insurrectionary movements in Italy and the German States, in Austria and Hungary, roused the world from its supineness. The simultaneous tial successes, inspired the lovers of freedom every where with hopes of the most beneficent results and led to where with hopes of the most beneficent results and led to the greatest excitement; but the public mind, with the receding tide of Republican successes, regained its composure without its confidence. The unsettled condition and the power of the centending factions in one great country still held the public mind in suspense, and all awaited the solution of French politics, feeling that upon that would depend, in no small degree, the future quiet of the continent. That solution came like a clap of thunder to unexpecting ears, in the count d'état of the 2d of Dewere with every external snow of freedom of choice, would condemn or approve the daring usurpation of Louis Napoleon. While in this suspense, lo! tidings came that nearly seven of the eight millions of the adult male population of France had approved and sanctioned the decree which abolished the Republic, and confided to the arbitrary will of one man the power of restrictions of the confidence of the conf

throne—remains yet to be stated. Contemporaneously with the first report of the event of the 2d of December which reached this country, came vague, and at the time little reached this country, came vague, and at the time little credited, assurances that the movement of Louis Napoleon would not only be successful, but that the peace of France and of Europe would be rather consolidated than disturbed by its success! And now, after four months—after more than a hundred days have passed, fresh assurances reach us from so many reliable sources to the same effect, that it would seem a species of madness any longer to resist absolute conviction on that point—assu-rances the more incredible from the first, when we conrances the more incredible from the first, when we consider that they were accompanied by advices that the King of Prussia, following the lead of France and Austria, was proceeding as fast as he durst to remodel the constitution of his Government upon a basis which excluded every vestige of Republicanism.

What, then, sir, is now the recognised and well-understood resistion of the retirement of France the resisted and well-understood resistion.

stood position of the nations of Europe—the cradle and still the great nursery of modern civilization—in regard still the great nursery of modern civilization—in regard to popular rights and free government? Let facts speak the answer. If what we hear be true of Prussia, then the four great Powers of the continent are modelling their governments upon the basis of absolutism—upon the theory that popular sovereignty or popular control to any extent in the affairs of Government, directly or in representative assemblies, is incompatible with peace and order, and utterly subversive of the securities and blessings of civil society. Six a rear order of things has order, and utterly subversive of the securities and blessings of civil society. Sir, a new order of things has arisen which decrees the abolition of the very symbols of liberty. Every monument of the transient existence of any former republic—every inscription, every mements of former freedom, is to be razed to its foundations—effaced and obliterated, so that no trace shall remain—no tradition be allowed to go down to posterity of the time when republican forms had found a foothold in Europe.

Thus, sir, the great and imposing fact stares us in the face that the continent of Europe has reverted to the old ideas of monarchy and absolutism, and liberty lies prostrate, discarded, and dishonored.

And what, I repeat, as still more surprising, is, that the opinion prevails, founded upon the most reliable sources of information—the entire mercantile class, the stock market, the great capitalists upon the London Exchange and the Paris Bourse, the money kings, who have their

to mankind!

Let us pause here, and speculate a moment upon this great fact, which marks the progress of civilization in the nineteenth century. Let us pause and consider the conclusion and the causes which have led to it; of the strange eventful story of a contest which may be said to date further back than '89 or '92—going back even to the middle of the fifteenth century, when the human mind, re-awakened, after a slumber of ages, to some conception of the civil as well as of the religious rights of mankind. It is said that the last scene of the fifth and last act of the great drama of freedom in Europe is brought to a close. But I ask again, can it be true that the contest is over? I call to mind another fact in addition to all I have before stated in confirmation of the conclusion that all is over. maintained that one of the results of the progress of the age is that the bayonets of Europe have been taught to think; that they have come to regard themselves as a part think; that they have come to regard themselves as a part of the people from among whom they are recruited, and that they will no longer be, as in former times, the blind instruments of their employers in making war upon popular rights. The idea, too, has been often proclaimed, in tones of exulting confidence, that public opinion has become stronger than the bayonet. All this may be true, and is certainly very beautiful in theory; but, from the nature of recent transactions in Europe, it would unfortunately seem, also, that not only the thinking bayonets, but that public opinion, too, has rejected popular intervention

The theory is more plausible when applied to Governments than to religion. The passion for civil liberty is common to all, except the governing classes, in any stage of civilization. The passion for personal freedom may be said to be universal; yet how often has it happened in the history of the world that these passions have yielded to other and still stronger and more controlling influences? There have been periods in the history of Europe—especially in the ages which immediately succeeded the overthrow of the Roman power and civilization, and even in later times—when personal freedom afforded no security cially in the ages which immediately succeeded the overthrow of the Roman power and civilization, and even in
later times—when personal freedom afforded no security
to life or property. It was in such distracted times that
whole villages and the rural population of whole districts
and provinces voluntarily became the serfs and bondmen
of some powerful suzerain or chief, who had the power to
protect them from the general license and plunderings of
the times. And so, sir, I can readily understand that a
state or condition of things may arise in any country
when, by the madness, the turbulence, and violence of factions, the restraint and sanctions of law and Government
may become so relaxed that a whole people, however attached to the cause of free institutions, may seek repose
and protection in the embraces of despotic power. So it
has been in times past in many memorable instances, and
so it is likely to be in the future.

The passion for civil liberty, strong and universal as it
is, has been known again and again to yield to one that
appears to be even stronger than that—the love of national glory. There is still another sentiment common
to the mass of mankind that has had a powerful influence in human affairs, and one which, aside from reli-

aginative readers all over the continent the same mis-chievous heories. New, strange, and bewildering theo-ries of the destiny of man and of human society, and the perfection of which both are by nature susceptible, have quite unsettled the faith and confidence of tens of thousand: in all existing institutions, both social and political. The followers of the new philosophy, every where seeing that their theories of universal happiness and equality are not likely to be realized in any of the known or existing forms of society or government, be-come the alvocates for the abolition of both. Denying all imperfections in the nature of man, and foreseeing

all imperfections in the nature of man, and foreseeing that the Christian religion stands in the way of their reforms, they are compelled to abandon their own cherished theories, or to renounce that also. Ind hence we observe that the policy of reconstructing imperial and arbitrary Governments on the continent of Europe embraces the altar as well as the throne.

The great curse of Europe of the present day is that the theories and doctrines of the chaapions and advocates of liberty and republicanism have all along proceeded upon the same error which renderedall the philosophy of the schools of antiquity abortive, and for the most part utterly useless to mankind. They all proceed upon abstractions. All their theories of society and government, all their ideas of liberty and equality and the forms they would institute to secure them, are founded upon some preconceived notion in their own minls of what they considered to be right and proper, without the slightest of the people from among whom they are recruited, and that they will no longer be, as in former times, the blind instruments of their employers in making war upon popular rights. The idea, too, has been often proclaimed, in tones of exulting confidence, that public opinion has become stronger than the bayonet. All this may be true, and is certainly very beautiful in theory; but, from the nature of recent transactions in Europe, it would unfortunately seem, also, that not only the thinking bayonets, but that public opinion, too, has rejected popular intervention as an unsafe basis of government.

But a few years ago it must be admitted that the current of republican ideas and aspirations was tending rapidly to undermine all the monarchical institutions of Europe. Now all is reversed. Men's minds, perplexed and confounded by recent events, naturally go in search of some fact or theory which may account for the change. Some take the view that there is no great principle or maxim, in morals or government, so fixed and established as to be free from the influence of fashion, the love of novelty—or beyond the reach of those changes in senti-

> I trust, sir, I may now be allowed, without taking my final leave of Europe, to pay a short visit to America—America, always open and exposed to every disease or contagion, moral and physical, that originates in a foreign atmosphere. We see it proclaimed through the columns of a thousand presses in this country that the spirit of democracy is necessarily progressive. I ask pardon, for I intended to divest myself as far as possible of every partisan view and feeling in delivering my sentiments on the great subject; but I am unable to proceed in my argument without allusions which may seem to have a this great subject; but I am unable to proceed in my argument without allusions which may seem to have a partisan cast. We are told that reform in this free country is a laggard—that it lingers far in the rear of the advancing spirit of the age. Sir, it is said through the same channels, and proclaimed to the people of this country, that too much of the old anti-democratic leaven still lurks and ferments in our constitutional forms and in our legislation. By a more circumscribed party, but still widely diffused over the country, and of no insignificant influence our institutions are depended as being on influence, our institutions are denounced as being op-pressive and unjust to the natural rights of mankind, pressive and unjust to the natural rights of mankind, alien to liberty, upholding social forms which admit of no equality of position or of happiness; that there is no true fraternity; no freedom, such as the spirit of the age and the progress of civilization demand.
>
> Whence this type of democracy in this country? No man can mistake its paternity. It is European born. It is the same spirit and type of democracy which have undone the cause of liberty in Europe; and its mission in this country can never be accomplished but by the ruin of liberty here. Does not every one know that the most negular and leading champions of the cause of republications.

where the property of the control of

subject of inquiry; that is, how are we to be affected by the changes in the condition of Europe? If what I have said and what I have attempted to prove be true—if the present state of things in Europe is permanent—then let me say to you, and to this body, what in my judgment will be the result. In that state of things, and under recent circumstances in this country, will be found the germ of a lasting hostility on the part of the Powers of that Continent against the Republic of the United States, and in

of the continent? I will answer, unhesitatingly, no. If there is one great fact in the future history of the world that can be foretold with greater certainty than any other, it is the great conflict, not now, but soon to be, between Great Britain and the United States for the empire of the seas and the command of the trade of the world. Instead of becoming our ally in a war with the despotic Powers of the continent, Great Britain would have cause to exult; or probable.

European combination. She may stand off, to be sure; but if the Powers on the continent will only pursue a peritie policy toward her; if they will keep their ports and commercial marts open, on liberal terms, to her trade and manufactures, they will have her free consent to model their governments upon principles of the purest absorbutism; they may extinguish every spark of liberty among their own subjects, and crumble into dust every republic on the globe. True, England may claims for some concession to popular rights; she may write strong diplomatic notes; she will bluster in a thousand ways to delude and conciliate the liberals at home; but it will be all mere vapor; and the whole farce will be played off with a perfectly good understanding between her and her neighbors.

As I stated upon a former occasion, Great Britain, for the present, avails herself as fully as she may of all the advantages she can derive from the weak points of her cousins in America. She has discovered that a little well-timed flattery goes a great way with them. She is now carrying on a courtship with them most satisfactory to herself. By a profession of the principle and a practice of the semblance of free trade, together with some relaxation of her navigation laws, she has quite overcome the jealous prudery of America. In the mean time, compliments to the ingenuity and invention of Brother Jonathan in the manufacture of agricultural implements, and, with ill-concealed chagrin, to his skill in the construction of sailing vessels, are showered in profusion.

I here I annecial mate and office trade and fine the quet which now reigns upon the continued that there will be no war within any short period. There are too many causes of discord; too many jealousies; too many vival interests; too many jealousies;

of sailing vessels, are showered in profusion.

I hope I appreciate as I ought the liberal and valuable features of British institutions; and, above all, do I appreciate the well-earned renown of Englishmen in almost every department of human effort; in the arts and

rals and in society, which may justify material changes in American institutions, I wait the proofs of.

Mr. President, I have occupied more time in these general views than I intended. I must revert now to the main subject of inquiry; that is, how are we to be affected by live than this single fact. It may well be regard antecedent position, significance, or renown! Nothing can be more strikingly characteristic of the age in which we live than this single fact. It may well be regarded as ominous, and teach us that, rationally, nothing in society or government can be regarded as so fixed and well-esta-blished as to defy convulsion and overthrow. The comcent circumstances in this country, will be found the germ of a lasting hostility on the part of the Powers of that Continent against the Republic of the United States; and, sir, we shall see that the next great war which is to fill the world with its desolations will be a war between the old continent and the new—between the Old World and the representations and confounded by rapid, successive, and unexpected decontinent and the new—between the Old World and the

ss one over the other.

A voice whispers me, Where will England be in a contest between the despotic Powers of the Continent and this Republic? What guaranty have we that she would be disposed to interpose her broad shield between America and her assailants? Will kindred race and language be a guaranty of the friendship of England? Never, sir, as long as the story of the Revolution shall be hard. and the tide of victory will yet ebb and flow on many a well-fought battle-field, on which freedom shall contend against oppression. But there are several causes which those which record our and the lasting entities domination. The dire and lasting entities down in the dire and the lasting entities down in the direction of England is decreed by an inexorable law.

But will not kindred institutions be a guaranty of her alliance and protection? No, sir. The throne, the altar, the aristocracy, the whole governing race, including the wealthy middle classes of England, have as great a horror of republicanism, and of the levelling theories of the fierce democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent, as the Czar of Russia him democracy of the continent of the continent of the continent of the great law of change—to the inevitable devery form of society known in the history of the work of the continent of th

ness to disarm, they are all increasing their armaments, both by sea and land. In addition to this, when we consider that there are now four millions of bayonets ready to be put in motion; and that the different maritime Powers can put affoat two thousand ships of war, who